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these convictions may end in a high consecration in behalf of a rational world organization. This is the peace movement. It is nothing more. It is certainly nothing less.

Our program is not therefore "dangerous"; it is not a "supine peace-at-any-price," "non-resistant" propaganda; it is not an "unpatriotic" enterprise. On the contrary, it is the supreme interest of self-respecting persons everywhere. It is the one great field for genuine, political, and patriotic courage. For it is not that we are afraid even of war, of blood, of carnage, or of death; it is that we are sick and tired of wrongs, of injustice, of savagery, and of hatreds.

And this program is coming to its own. Silly misinterpretations are being cleared away. Men and women, not only in neutral but in belligerent lands, are beginning to think unitedly at last in international terms. It is clear, now, that we must shake off this monstrous curse that blights our world so often with its withering breath. The need of right thinking and high behavior on the plane of humanity is apparent to all of us now. Men and women are coming to subscribe together in God's name to the righteous program in behalf of international justice, for without justice we are in a sad case indeed. Never in the history of the world was there a greater program founded upon a profounder need, nor a greater opportunity for human co-operation, self-sacrifice, and intelligence.

SOME ENEMIES OF THE PEACE MOVEMENT

A GAINST the effort to overcome the loathsome crime of war is the spirit of exaggerated nationalism, often mere chauvinism—ignorant, arrogant, and self-assertive. It was this spirit which led Persia to extend her hand in a vain grasp for a world empire. It was this spirit that built up the Roman Empire but to destroy it again. It was this spirit that animated Charlemagne, who labored so gloriously in the rebuilding of that same world empire that it grew and lived, but only so long as did he. The Mohammedans, the Tartars, Spain, Great Britain experienced this lofty but unattainable ambition. We see it in all its splendor and failure in Napoleon Bonaparte. Louis Napoleon thought he had it. Russia was defeated at the hands of Japan because of it. It is back of the war now upon us.

Then there are the breeders of international hatreds, themselves born out of blind racial antipathies, bigoted religious intolerance, and mistaken commercial fears and rivalries. To these must be added the evils growing out of jealous autocracies, often in favor of war, that they in turn may hold undisputed their benumbing sway. Out of these autocracies has grown the mistaken

policy of secret diplomacy, aiming at impossible equilibriums and balances of power—undemocratic and vicious.

There are the crass and circumscribed "statesmen" who practice just plain injustice and dishonor, who tear treaties, conventions, and promises into shreds, who lie and steal and kill in the name of empire and of a sickening patriotism.

Now all of these are but the outgrowth of the pathological condition of a rapidly increasing co-operation and interdependence of European States, with no adequate means of protecting, regulating, and controlling these relations save force, a condition we now know to be pure world anarchy. This condition of uncontrolled communication has promoted frictions, suspicions, and hatreds. The international structures of Europe have succumbed to this anarchy. Protective measures by one nation simply led to protective measures by another and then by another, until protection by the one simply spelt aggression for the others. Thus irrational war has followed, as it always tends to follow, irrational life.

Out of such a condition in Europe have developed the inflated patriotism, natural fears, and militarism which is itself a threatening cancer. This lack of effective organization made possible the impass between Austria and Serbia in July, 1914, brought Germany into conflict with Russia, France, and finally with England, indeed brought eleven nations of the world into unreasoned and unreasoning war. It was out of this lack of organization that sprang the serpent of Tenedos that attacked, throttled, and destroyed the unoffending Lacocon—Belgium. Suspicions, fears, hatreds, conflicts, slaughters are aiming the ax at the very root of modern civilization because men have lacked the brains to organize their States with any adequate regard for the ordinary laws of justice, order, and common decency.

OUR IMMEDIATE PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY

IF WE are to retain the ground won by man in his upward climb, we must strive at last to recognize and perform our international duties. We must study, interpret, and take home to ourselves in all sincerity and sobriety the lessons being set before us. We may, for instance, advertise the blessings of that democracy which gives to us our opportunities to attain our permanent satisfactions of health, play, education, culture, character, vocation, children, worship, love, service.

The time is upon us when we, the people of a united world, must plan for a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for our real defense, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity around the globe. We, the people of

a cosmic universe, must surely insist upon these things. The details may be left to our expert representatives, but the principles must be ascertained and insisted upon by all.

Whether we believe in a "League of Peace," a "United States of Europe," a "federation of the world," or what not, is relatively unimportant. But some form of co-operative, collective, international solution of the problem of armaments is, certainly, soon to be imperative. Then, too, there will have to be some form of democratic control of international relations in the spirit of an open and sincere diplomacy. Our united effort must therefore be extended at once in our own country, for the time is soon at hand when all of us will be face to face with the sternest duty and most glorious opportunity ever faced by our human world. Now is the time to think, confer, and think again. Even a democracy is hopeless unless it opens its eyes and ears. As Lord Haldane said early in July, speaking before the National Liberal Club in London, "When I look back, the most difficult of all campaigns was not the campaign of the army or navy, but the campaign of trying to get the people to educate themselves into a reflective habit." When men and women think, really think, upon these matters, then the problem of war will be solved.

TEN OBJECTIONS TO AN INTERNATIONAL POLICE

THE plans designed for the creation of a League of Peace, to be backed by an international force, apparently presuppose that such force shall not be used against this country. At least such a contingency has never been discussed.

They ignore the lesson that the decrees of the United States Supreme Court against individual States are executed, notwithstanding the fact that the court has no power of enforcement.

The plans overlook the necessity for first establishing an International Legislature and an International Court, out of which such an international police must develop if it develops at all.

The supposed necessity for an international police may and probably will be found to be unjustified when once an International Legislature and an International Court are really established.

The efficiency of public opinion, generally granted to be the ultimate executive force behind all law, the executive to which Cicero referred as the "Queen of the World," receives no adequate consideration by the advocates of an international force.

The present war, indeed all wars, teach that preparedness to use force does not necessarily operate as a deterrent in time of international crises.

Our Federal Constitution provides (Art. I, sec. 8) that the Congress shall "declare war," "raise and support armies," and that the Congress shall have the power to provide for calling forth the militia to repel invasions. The same Constitution further provides (Art. III, sec. 3) that "treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to our enemies, giving them aid and comfort." Further (Art. IV, sec. 4), "The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government and shall protect each of them against invasion." Again (Art. II, sec. 2), "The President of the United States shall have power, by and with the consent of the Senate, to make treaties, providing two-thirds of the Senators present concur." Before any treaty or series of treaties could be negotiated providing for an international police, transferring the power to declare war to other and possibly hostile nations, it would be necessary to modify all of these articles of our United States Constitution.

The plans assume that the United States Senate can be prevailed upon to accept a scheme which will materially curtail its constitutional prerogatives, subordinate the Congress of the United States to a league unknown to and inconsistent with the Constitution of the United States, and change both in fact and in theory the form and substance of the Republic of the Fathers.

The advocates of an international police as a means of restricting wars do not seem to know, at least they ignore, that, though the proposal is very old, it has never been seriously or popularly received. Without going back to the Greek "Councils," it is a fact that Dante proposed a world federation, backed by force, in his "Convito" early in the fourteenth century. The Grand Design of Henry IV embodied the same principle in 1601. A few years later Hugo Grotius suggested the importance of "certain congresses of Christian powers, in which the controversies among some of them may be decided by others who are not interested, and in which measures may be taken to *compel the parties* to accept peace upon equitable terms." In 1693 William Penn's plan for the peace of Europe allowed for an international force. Saint Pierre and Rosseau had a similar plan in the early eighteenth century. Lord Liverpool's foreign secretary, Robert Stewart, better known as Viscount Castlereagh, went to the Congress of Vienna, 1814-1815, for the purpose of establishing an armed concert of Europe. Cardinal Fleury, Prime Minister to Louis XV of France, when presented with the scheme proposed by Saint Pierre, pleasantly remarked that the document should have a preliminary article providing for the education of missionaries "to dispose the hearts of the Princes of Europe to submit to such a diet." This discriminating suggestion of the Prime Minister suggests today a genuine objection to the plan for an international police.